

Combined with "The New York Communist"

The Revolutionary Age

Devoted to the International Communist Struggle

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Hot Air

The Revolutionary Age

Combined with The New York "Communist"

National Organ of the Left Wing Section
Socialist Party

LOUIS C. FRANA, Editor

EADMONN MACALPINE, Managing Editor

Owned and Controlled by the Left Wing
Section of the Socialist Party

NATIONAL COUNCIL

John Ballam C. E. Ruthenberg

Max Cohen Benjamin Gitlow

James Larkin I. E. Ferguson

Bertram D. Wolfe

I. E. Ferguson, National Secretary

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Disarmament

THE disarmament policy of the Peace Conference is peculiar. It is disarming the defeated nations, while the victorious nations are preparing larger armaments.

There is much said about the League of Nations imposing disarmament. But it is not. The military alliance concluded between Great Britain, France and the United States indicates that not peace but war is to come in the days ahead.

France and Italy are making plans for more military power; the small nations "liberated" by the Allies are developing an aggressive militarism; Great Britain strengthens its navy. The United States also strengthens its navy; while plans are proposed for increasing the pre-war strength of the standing army and having a National Guard of 440,000 men.

Militarism has not been crushed, except in Austria and Germany. The Allies are ending their war to end war by a more militant military policy. Militarism is necessary to Imperialism.

Temporary Failure

THE plans for a general strike in Europe as a protest against intervention in Russia did not materialize on the projected scale. That the militant proletariat made a great effort is clear; but the reasons why the protest strike did not assume larger scope are not yet apparent. We must secure more information before final judgment.

It is clear, however, that the hesitation and sabotage of the old union officials was a great factor against success. The executive of the French Federation of Labor issued a statement calling off the strike, thereby disorganizing the plans for the demonstrations.

It is equally a fact that the bureaucracy and parliamentary leaders of the British labor movement opposed this political strike of the masses in solidarity with their Russian comrades.

But even the censored reports indicate that there was a formidable protest on July 21. The protest must become still more formidable in the measure that the pressure against Rus-

sia continues and economic problems weigh down upon the proletariat.

At the same time come the reports of decisive victories of the Russian Soviet Army on three fronts,—against the Finns marching on Petrograd, against the Siberian forces of Kolchak, and against General Denikin in the south. The bourgeois press admits that these are serious reverses for the counter-revolution, the New York *Tribune* mournfully admitting that the Soviet Republic will now surely endure for another winter.

Time and the march of the proletariat are working inevitably for the triumph of the Russian Soviet Republic.

But more proletarian pressure is necessary. The struggle of the Russian Soviet Republic is agonizing, the most terrible struggle of the ages. Against the world, against internal enemies, against disorganization,—Bolshevik Russia is fighting, and fighting nobly. The proletariat of the world must come to its assistance. It will come.

The Shantung Controversy

THE United States Senate is protesting vigorously against the "injustice" perpetrated by the Peace Conference in awarding control of the Shantung Peninsula, with its 40,000,000 Chinese inhabitants, to Japan.

But these protests are not at all a matter of justice. The award of Shantung to Japan is infamous; but there are other infamous acts of the Peace Conference,—awarding England one million and a half square miles of territory. France as much, destroying Germany and Austria economically, blockading Russia and Hungary, thereby condemning millions to starvation. But there are no protests worth the name against these outrages.

The motive behind these protests about Shantung are purely imperialistic. China, before the war, was the scene of a fierce struggle between competing Imperialisms for control; and the struggle must become more acute now. The only considerable competitor in the Far East of American Imperialism is the Imperialism of Japan; and there is a natural protest, accordingly, against solidifying Japanese control in China.

The "award" of Shantung to Japan is characteristic of the predatory peace of conquest concluded by the Allies. China was engaged in the war against Germany; but not alone is defeated Germany dismembered, but China as well, against the futile protests of the Chinese delegation, who refused to sign the peace treaty.

The American government O. K.'s this infamous act. It has diplomatic precedent, since it agreed in 1916, by means of the Ishii-Lansing Agreement, that Japan had special rights in China.

President Wilson is making no public statement concerning why he agreed to this act of spoilation against China in favor of Japan. But he has invited a number of Senators to a private conversation and inform them of his reason *under pledge of absolute secrecy*. This is the diplomacy of "open covenants of peace openly arrived at."...

The controversy engaged in by the Senate is revealing a number of things, prime among which is that the Senate is concerned, not with problems of justice, but with problems of power. It favors China in order to beat Japan, and aggrandize American Imperialism.

The Communist Party

THE National Left Wing Conference at New York laid the foundation for a party in the United States which will function according to the principles and tactics of Communism.

The name *Communist* is virtually certain to designate the movement of revolutionary Socialism in the United States which has already taken its more or less definite formulation as the Left Wing movement within the Socialist Party.

There is sometimes magic in a name, and no one would now seriously contend that the name *Communist* is without powerful appeal to the working class of the world. In the name itself is an eloquent expression of fellowship with the comrades in Europe who stand today on the firing line of the social revolution.

Even more, those who sense that our Bolshevik and Spartacan comrades, and the Communists of Hungary, are reasserting and advancing the call to the workmen of all the world which went forth from London in 1848, in form of the Communist Manifesto, realize the entire fitness of bringing under the one name the unity of the long revolutionary preparation and struggle which has now come to the stage of final crisis. The *Communist League* of 1848, the *Communes* of the Paris of 1871, and the *Communists* who rule today in Russia and Hungary—all these are of one flesh and blood.

On the other hand, the name *Socialist*, although not without its inspiring traditions, has been dragged in the mire of opportunism too long ever to be resurrected as the party name under which the militant proletariat of all countries can hail one another in comradeship. It has become hopelessly the name of a game of politics which ignores the fundamental realities of proletarian life.

We do not mean to ignore the fact that there are individuals everywhere, by the thousands and millions, who today call themselves *Socialists* and yet function in absolute accord with the Communist tradition and understanding. We do not ignore the splendid Socialist Party of Italy, which has already joined with the Communist International and which we are confident will soon control the destinies of Italy as one of the sister nations of the new era of Communist civilization.

But in Italy there has been the determined, consistent march of the Socialist Party toward the goal of Proletarian revolution since the party threw off its petty bourgeois reformist elements in 1919. There is no internal contract impied in the two names, as is there in Germany, in France, in the Scandinavian countries, and in the United States.

Especially is the name of itself given sharp perspective in the starting of a new party. In another month the *Left Wing* will cease to exist as a faction of the Socialist Party. It will merge the Socialist Party within itself, absorbing all its vitality and casting off the rottenness of a working class party of potential betrayal in the crucial hour of action. But the *Left Wing* must become the *Communist Party*, regardless of the fate of the Socialist Party.

Assuredly the inspiration and challenge of the Communist tradition should of itself be the crushing answer to the little group, hungry for petty power and conspicuousness, who are now trying to make of the starting of the new party a small game of intra-factional politics. The *Left Wing* must answer to the instinctive comradeship of the workers in America with the Communists of the world.

Another Peace

WHILE the world is still staggering from the shock of the peace terms imposed upon Germany by the Allies, come the terms that are being imposed upon Austria. These terms are in accord with the general character of the terms imposed upon Germany, and are if anything still more terrible.

These terms, in general, are: Austria must accept responsibility for damages and losses caused to the Allies by her war of aggression; she must pay for all damages to civilians; the indemnity is not stated, but Austria must pay "a reasonable" sum by May 1, 1921; Austria must surrender all her merchant fleet and one fifth of her river fleet; she must abolish conscription, reduce her army to 30,000, and surrender all her cables to the Allies.

But these are only a fraction of the terms. Austria, among other economic measures, must surrender to Italy, Serbia and Rumania, a fixed number of domestic animals.

These terms indicate that Austria is to be crushed economically. Her industry is to become unimportant, since a nation economically is unimportant without a merchant fleet; and Austria is deprived of her fleet. She is, moreover, to surrender all cables, and make other economic cessions which will ruin her.

Austria is bankrupt. Her industry and agriculture are ruined. The problems of reconstruction are enormous. But during the period when all resources should be concentrated on reconstruction, Austria is to use these resources in order to meet the Allies demands for tribute.

These peace terms are not simply a threat to the peace, liberty and security of the people of Germany and Austria; they are equally a threat to the peace, liberty and security of the world.

It is a peculiar logic that insists upon punishing the nations "guilty" of the war in a way that produces conditions for new wars in the days to come.

But it isn't passionate motives of vengeance that inspire the diplomats of the Allies. That is simply a means of arousing popular enthusiasm for their brigand's program. The motives of the Allies are cold, calculating motives of power. They must destroy their rivals; they must secure world power; they must divide the world along lines of Imperialism. It is these purposes that are responsible for the most predatory peace treaty of modern times.

Together with this general purpose involved in world power, there is another and more immediate purpose. The major belligerents, except the United States, have suffered heavily from the war. They are on the verge of bankruptcy. In order to prevent this bankruptcy (and a revolution among their people) they are trying to exact every penny they can cut of Germany and Austria with which to meet their liabilities.

But Germany and Austria are also bankrupt, and to exact tribute means completing their bankruptcy. The bankruptcy of these two nations must necessarily affect conditions in all nations. The Allies are trying desperately to avert a problem that must down them in the days to come.

The diplomats and financiers of the Allies admit that this problem of financial bankruptcy is serious. The only tangible proposal thus far made to meet the crisis has been the proposal that American finance should form a huge corporation to meet the capital needs of Europe. This might work, for a time, but at the cost of making the European proletariat

permanent slaves and assuring the United States undisputed financial world power.

Not having any general plan to meet the crisis, the Allies adopt the opportunistic tactics of despoiling Germany and Austria in order to meet their own obligations, feeling that even if these two nations break into revolution, the solvency of the Allies will be able to stabilize the situation.

But the fundamental facts are that these methods cannot meet the terrific crisis in which Europe finds itself. The Allies are trying to solve an international crisis by national aggrandizing and by a partial internationalism which is simply the mechanics of Imperialism.

These terms of peace are indicative of the fact that there is no hope for the world, either for peace, security or prosperity, being assured under Imperialism. Imperialism means conquest and spoliation, and war: there is no way out except through the Communist Revolution.

War was a consequence of the contradictions; and these unsolvable contradictions will yet strangle Capitalism.

Repudiating Deserters

AT this moment, while Socialist history is being written in fiery letters, it is of great importance to know the activities of the adherents of the movement.

It is clear that revolutionary discipline in the Left Wing has been disregarded by an organized, disgruntled clique composing the minority at the Left Wing Conference. Disruption has been created at the moment when the rank and file were breathlessly watching the actions of their representatives, who were to form common plans and a common platform by means of which to land the final crushing blow at the Socialist Party in its present form, laying the basis for a new movement.

Apparently, the disrupters had believed in the theory of the conquest of the Party by a "peaceful" and gradual transition. But suddenly, contrary to this view, the Party bureaucracy—although not accepting the Left Wing theoretical conception concerning the nature of revolution—abruptly surprised these comrades by a counter-charge consisted of suspensions, expulsions and "re-organizations." This terrible shock caused our minority Left Wing comrades to drop their guns in the mud, like "brave" soldiers, and start fighting as to who should be in the first ranks of the retreat. They measure revolutionary capacity very peculiarly: those who soonest leave the Party, that is, retreat, are the most revolutionary, and *vice versa*. In lieu of revolutionary discipline and common action, the minority act like bravados and insist upon separate action, to the slogan: "We are the Left Wing."

Among the minority delegates, 31 in all, we find the delegates of the Lettish Federation. In spite of the fact that the official organ of the Federation, which is under direct control of the Central Committee, has been agitating for the conquest of the Party, these delegates unscrupulously, without the consent of the members of the Federation, is lining up with the splitters of the Left Wing.

At its regular meeting July 13, the Lettish Branch (Federation) of the Bronx condemned the stand of the Central Committee of the Lettish Federation. It endorsed the decision of the Left Wing majority and advised the Central Committee and the members to act with the Left Wing.

Yours for the Communist Party,
K. STRASDIN.

One Lie Nailed

By L. E. KATTERFELD.

IN an article sent broadcast through the National Office Press service, James Oneal claims that in our recent Party elections the old National Executive Committee wasn't repudiated at all, at all.

He admits the figures published in the Ohio Socialist as current, but alleges that "these figures show a very small vote in the states as a whole, which confirms the charge that the Left Wing through a campaign of terrorism has driven many party members from the Locals in sheer disgust." In this article he bases his whole argument upon the assertion that the vote was much lower than in other Party referendums and that therefore the fact that the Left Wing received a majority of the votes cast does not mean repudiation of the old N. E. C.

Even if it was true that a very small vote was cast in the recent referendums, that would not justify the old N. E. C. in suppressing the referendum results. But it is not true.

Oneal says:—"This report shows a TOTAL of a little more than 16,000 votes cast for the referendum." The fact is that it shows 20,674 votes for the 26 States included in the Ohio Socialist tabulation. Left Wing candidate John Reed received 16,074, while the leading Right Winger, Victor Berger, received only 4,465, while James Oneal, "our" present International Delegate was "endorsed" by the magnificent total of 1,726.

Oneal alleges that the vote was much smaller than is usually recorded in Party elections. The fact is that it is one of the largest ever polled in any party referendum. In the election for N. E. C. one year ago 17,310 votes were cast, of which only 10,611 were in the 26 states that we have tabulated. This year those same 26 states give 20,674 or nearly TWICE AS MANY as last year.

If the states that have so far suppressed their referendum returns show the same increase as those already tabulated, the vote this year may actually surpass the "high water mark." Here are some figures from the official reports of the National Office: The spirited contest over the St. Louis program brought out 22,345 votes for the majority and 2,752 for the minority report, total 25,097. The total vote in the 1917 election to International delegates showed only 14,219 Comrades voting. Berger was elected at that time with 4655 votes.

The highest vote ever cast on any referendum in the Party's history was in 1912, on the question of holding our national convention in Indianapolis instead of Oklahoma City, a little over 34,000. In that same year John Work, received the highest vote ever polled by any individual in the Party, 22,081 against 6,440 for J. O. Bentall for National Secretary. When we consider that at that time the Party had about 20,000 more members than at present, and that this year several thousand good standing party members were prevented from voting because reactionary party officials refused them the ballots, we must conclude that actually a larger percentage of our membership voted in this years referendum elections than ever before.

In view of these facts, what becomes of Oneal's assertions and allegations? I commend these figures to our would-be "historian" James Oneal. Was he ignorant of these facts, or did he deliberately lie in his efforts to defend the defeated and discredited party officialdom and to prejudice the membership against the Left Wing and Revolutionary Socialism?

Here and There

THE Italian Socialists in New York City vicinity have decided to issue a daily paper in Italian for propaganda among the Italian workers. *The New York Call* takes the opportunity to congratulate the Italian comrades on their venture, incidentally remarking on the fine stand taken by the Socialist Party in Italy and by its official organ *Avanti*, published in Milan. This stand says *The Call* has "fired the local Italian with a desire to emulate their brothers, and the drive for the establishment of an *Avanti* in New York is growing apace... *Avanti*, when it appears, will instantly assume a position in the Italian community similar to that of the *Forward* in the Jewish community."

If we know anything of our Italian comrades, and if as *The Call* says they desire to emulate their brothers in Italy, then a New York *Avanti*, which will be the Italian prototype of the *Forward*, the Jewish organ of petty bourgeois Socialism, will be cut off in its early youth.

The Milan *Avanti* stands practically alone as the only big official Socialist daily which preached revolutionary Socialism during the past two years. If the Italian Socialists in New York have been corrupted by their contact with the movement which produces the *Forward*, and for that matter *The Call*, then they had better continue to bask in the reflected glory of their heroic fellow-countrymen and refrain from insulting the name *Avanti*.

But we know when our Italian comrades do produce a paper in New York it will be worthy of the name *Avanti* and that, among its other functions, it will help drive a few nails in the

coffins of the *Forward*, *The Call* and the movement that fathered such spineless offspring.

* * *

According to the reports circulated by the Right Wing in New York City the Republicans and Democrats have suddenly been converted to Revolutionary Socialism. It appears that they have made elaborate plans for supporting the Left Wing at the primaries, and that by their aid the Left Wing will sweep the rights out of their own especial field, politics, on the primary elections.

It is very hard to please some people. All along one of the Rights' greatest grievances against the Lefts was that the latter were repudiating political action, on this ground the expulsions from the Party were justified. Now, however, that the Lefts are showing that they are not willing to relinquish any weapon in the struggle against the present system of society, the Rights complain bitterly that the capitalist parties are supporting us.

The real facts of the case are that the Rights feel that they are going to get a drubbing from the enrolled Socialist voters, similar to what they received from the Party membership at the N. E. C. elections, and like good politicians they prepare an excuse in advance.

The old parties are not anxious to find revolutionary Socialists in the legislative chambers, so far they have joined very well with Right Wingism, but the Socialist voters are anxious to see something done by those who are elected to represent them and the Right Wing senses this. The Left Wing is contacting the primaries to defeat petty bourgeois Socialism. In the elections proper it will fight the representatives of Capitalism, and in action show what revolutionary political tactics really are.

Bolshevikjabs

WE want to apologize to the Peace Conference for doing it an injustice on the Shantung question. We had thought that the giving of Shantung to Japan was a violation of the rights of small peoples, but we have just learned that Shantung has a population of 40,000,000, practically the same as Great Britain.

Obviously a population of 40,000,000 does not come under the head of small peoples, and therefore the disposal of Shantung is well within the "14 Points."

* * *

We thought it would be quite some time before Germany would be able to derive any consolation from the fact that "it might have been worse," but when we look at the Austrian terms we can see that Germany came out of the whole affair pretty well. Apparently at the time of the formation of the German terms the Allies had not got into their stride.

* * *

Demanding that Austria denounce the treaties of Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest, while she accepts the treaty of Versailles seems like carrying democracy too far.

* * *

Judging from all we have heard about the Peace Treaty and how it secures the peace of the world, it's a wonder nobody in Washington thought of reading it to the mob in the recent race riots.

* * *

Talking about the race riots, isn't it funny that all bayonet charges should take place in the Negro quarter?

The following is a list of the Branches in Greater New York and the dates of their meeting nights. Where the particulars are incomplete or incorrect, Branch Secretaries and organizers are requested to furnish the necessary information to Maximilian Cohen, 43 West 29th Street, New York City:

NEW YORK.

1st A. D.—180 Henry Street.
2nd A. D.—255 Grand Street—every Friday.
3-5-10th A. D.—43 West 29th Street—every second Monday.
8th A. D.—122 Second Avenue—every Thursday.
17th A. D.—1538 Madison Ave.—every Thursday.
18-20th A. D.—1848 Lexington Avenue—every Thursday.
22-23d A. D.—2018 Amsterdam Avenue.
Lettish Branch No 2—2018 Amsterdam Ave.
Estonian Branch—225 East 79th St.—First Wednesday.
Lithuanian Branch—7 East 15th Street.
Ukrainian Br. No. 20—222 East 5th St.
Jewish Br. Downtown—202 East Broadway.
Jewish Harlem Br.—46 East 104th St.
Italian Br. 2nd A. D.—180 Thompson St.—every Thursday.
Italian Harlem Br.—1848 Lexington Ave.
Spanish Br.—255 Grand Street.
5th Russian-Ukrainian Br.—276 Grand St.
1st Russian Br. Fed.—113 East 10th St.—every Friday.
1st Russian Br. non-fed.
2nd Harlem Branch, Russian—1893 Madison Avenue.
14-15-16th A. D.—350 East 81st Street.
Hungarian Yorkville Br.—350 E. 81st St.—first and third Thursday.
German-Hungarian Br.—350 East 81st St.
German-Murray Hill Br.—1032 First Ave.—first and third Saturday.

BRONX LEFT WING BRANCHES

R. Blueglass, 740 East 149th St.
Organizer.
1st A. D.—371 Willis Ave.—every Thursday.
2nd, 4th A. D.—1258 Boston Road—every Monday.
3rd A. D.—740 E. 149th Street.

5th A. D.—1340 Southern Boulevard—every other Thursday.
7th A. D.—747 East 182nd St.
Jewish Br. No. 1—Claremont Parkway and Washington Ave.—every Friday.
Jewish Branch No. 2—371 Willis Avenue—every Monday.
Jewish Branch No. 3—1333 Wilkins Ave.—every Friday.
Russian Br. No. 3—1258 Boston Road—every Friday.
Hungarian Branch—1258 Boston Road.
Lettish Br. No. 1—371 Willis Ave.—every second Sunday in month.

KINGS LEFT WING BRANCHES

Albert Pauly, Organizer,
957 Willoughby Ave.
Central Committee meets every 2nd and 4th Saturday at the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Avenue.
1st A. D.—417 Atlantic Ave.—every Friday.
Br. 2, 2nd A. D.—1278 East 10th Street—every second and fourth Tuesday.
3rd and 8th A. D.—Morge's Hall, 335 Union St.—every second and fourth Friday.
4th A. D.—4 Lee Ave.—every Thursday.
6th A. D.—167 Tompkins Ave.—every Thursday.
7th A. D.—321 Prospect Ave.—2nd and 4th Wednesday.
9th A. D.—1269 40th Street—2nd and 4th Monday.
10th A. D.—529 Vanderbilt Ave.—2nd and 4th Thursday.
12th A. D.—Crescent Hall, 6th Ave. and 9th Street—2nd and 4th Friday.
13th A. D.—5 Maspeth Ave.—2nd and 4th Thursday.
14th A. D.—208 Grand St.—every Monday.
16th A. D.—Town's Hall, Surf Ave., near W. 23d St.—2nd and 4th Wednesday.
18th A. D. Br. 1—283 Albany Ave.—1st and 3d Sunday.

18th A. D. Br. 2—1709 Pitkin Ave.—every Thursday.
20th A. D.—404 Central Ave.—every 1st and 3rd Friday.
21st A. D.—854 Flatbush Ave.—every 1st and 3rd Wednesday.
22nd A. D. Br. 4—Sutter Avenue—every Tuesday.
23rd A. D. Br. 1—2129 Fulton Street—every Saturday.
Finnish Br.—764 40th St.—every 2nd and 4th Sunday.
9th A. D. Br. 3—335 Prospect Ave.—every 2nd and 4th Wednesday.
19th A. D. Br. 1—949 Willoughby Ave.—every 1st and 3rd Wednesday.
20th A. D. Br. 1—404 Central Ave.—every 1st and 3rd Tuesday.
22nd A. D. Br. 3—3002 Fulton St.—every 2nd and 4th Friday.
Night Workers Br.—949 Willoughby Ave.—every 2nd Saturday.
Jewish Br. 6th A. D.—167 Tompkins Ave.—every Friday.
Jewish Br. 13-19th A. D.—61 Graham Ave.—every Thursday.
Jewish Br. 4-14th A. D.—208 Grand St.—every Tuesday.
Jewish Br. 16th A. D. Br. 2—1269 40th St.—every 2nd and 4th Friday.
Lithuanian Br. 19—208 Grand St.—every 2nd and 4th Wednesday.
Lithuanian Br. 20—736 Third Ave.
Lithuanian Br. 82—33 Hudson Ave.—every 1st Sunday.
Russian Br. 4—1709 Pitkin Ave.—every 1st Friday.
Russian Br. 6—61 Graham Ave.—every Saturday.
Ukrainian Br.—93 Grand Street—every Thursday.
Italian Branch.

An Interview With His Majesty

By H. K. Moderwell

He is a middle-aged man. Even after four years of war-bread he is fat, and his flesh moulds itself lumpily into his arm-chair. He has not recently shaved, and the dirt on him is not wholly the honorable grime of toil.

He invariably receives a visitor with a suspicious grunt:

"You want — —?"

Having learned what his visitor wants, he grumbles a bit and then slides by degrees into the matter in hand, or out of it, according as the request pleases him. He regards the affair with ponderous seriousness. No smile ever enters his features.

He is His Majesty, the Majority Socialist Bureaucrat of Germany.

He is a trade union organizer, a party secretary, or an editor; since the Revolution he is likely to be an officer of one of the more conservative Workmen's Councils. He is in every city and nearly every village in the land. Twenty or thirty years ago he was a young workman. He was looking about for his share of adventure in life and he saw the Socialist Party, which had then just won its first great victory in forcing the repeal of Bismarck's Socialist suppression laws. In the Party propaganda he found spiritual compensation for all his humiliating experiences in the *caserne*, in the workshop, in the neighborhood police station, under the Junker regime. He put the ardor of his youth into party work. He became a great man in his factory, in his branch meeting. He felt the thrill of marching in step with the battalions of his own comrades.

The Socialist movement became important, and he became important with it. He discovered in himself a talent for receiving orders and giving commands. He found that he could make men obey him. He rejoiced in the strength of the movement which in the impulse of first manhood he had chosen as his own. He rejoiced in the martial organization of the party, in its scores of fine buildings, its plump money chests, its printing shops and its newspapers. He promised himself that he would help make the army of the working class ever larger, ever more firmly united. And so he became organizer, or secretary, or editor.

The day came when this army had become so important that the Kaiser could not get on without it. Socialists must be called into all important conferences. Socialists must be given offices, even the vice-presidency of the Reichstag. Social legislation, under pressure of the workmen's battalions, became ever wider and more inclusive. The organizer, secretary, or editor, became ever fatter and more important.

Then the day came when the Socialists were called to the most important conference of all. A great war was to be declared, and the money must be voted. The Socialists in the Reichstag said "Yes." They passed their "Yes" down to the Party secretaries, who passed it down to the Party organizers, who passed it down to the Party editors, who passed it down to the Party members. German Socialism as one man replied "Yes."

There arose soon a group of Socialists who tried to break the battalions, calling upon the workers to throw out the organizer, secretary or editor, who thereupon became first indignant, then shifty and crabbed. At last came the Revolution, and the Party put on shoulder straps and issued commands to the whole empire. Editors became secretaries, and secretaries became chairmen, and chairmen became

ministers. Every saddle-maker carried a monarch's sceptre in his kit.

It is now the business of His Majesty to defend the empire he has conquered. About once a week he retires to a safe corner and shakes his fist at the Junkers, who do not even notice him, being busy with their own designs. Otherwise, his whole occupation is explaining to the German workman that somebody else, not the Party is to blame for all queer things that happen, and that the Germany they live in is a different Germany from that of the Hohenzollerns, and somehow a better one. The necessity for too much explaining has made him petulant. There is no longer any fight in him. There is only a grumbling anger.

He received me with no more than his accustomed graciousness. After once being persuaded to talk he could not be persuaded to stop. The interview which I transcribe, being a composite one, does not perhaps retain quite his exact words, but it follows accurately the sequence of his thought as he expressed it to me.

"Why has the Socialist government not done any socializing?"

"What is there to socialize? The peace conditions have ruined us. Our factories are working at a loss. Our public utilities are already a burden to the state. Our best coal mines are taken away. We must depend on the Entente for our raw materials. The German economy has collapsed. How can you socialize an economy that isn't working? And now, as though things weren't bad enough, the Independents come along and stir up the workmen to demand high wages and a shorter work-day."

"Does the Party intend to insist on socialization in the future?"

"Future? What future has the Entente left us. We are *morituri*—do you understand me?—about to die. What is the good of making plans for the future? The Independents talk about socialization, but if they had our job they would see that nothing can be done. Socialization, Marx explained, can only take place when the national economy has attained the apex of its development. If the Independents—"

"What about the reserve rights of the various German states, for instance the Bavarian post and railroads and army, which Prussia has taken over? Doesn't the Party object to Prussia getting control of all this, especially the army?"

"Reserve rights? What good are Bavaria's reserve rights to her? The post and telegraph are losing money. The Bavarians ought to be glad to let Prussia have them. As for the army, what does Bavaria want with an army? The Entente has left her nothing worth defending."

"What about the Workmen's Councils? Does the Party object to the army dissolving them and dictating the method of elections?"

"The workmen's councils aren't democratic. They are controlled by the Independents. They ought to be dissolved. Now the new elections which the army is dictating will be democratic."

"What is the new method of election?"

"I don't know. But it will be democratic. It is the method by which the *Centralrat* (General Council of the Soviets) is elected. The *Centralrat* gives a majority for our party."

"Just what will be the effect of the peace conditions on the economic condition of the

German working class?"

"Ruin. The enslavement of the German working class. Why didn't Wilson give us the Fourteen Points, as he promised? Why doesn't the American people protest? Why doesn't the proletariat of the world help us?"

"What did your party do for the proletariat at the time of Brest-Litovsk?"

"What did we do at the time of Brest-Litovsk? We *couldn't* do anything. Foreigners don't understand that. We weren't the majority of the Reichstag. We were only the strongest party in it. What could we do?"

"You must explain this in America," he continued. "We were in a coalition government, with the *Centrum* and the other moderate parties. Of course we didn't approve of the Brest-Litovsk peace. But if we had voted against it we would have gone into the opposition and had to leave the government. Then what would have happened?" He paused, then dramatically answered his own question: "*The Junkers would have come into control.*"

I refrained from asking whether the Junkers were not in control of everything anyway. It would have occasioned another half hour of torturous explanations. I mentioned, however, that the Independents had opposed the Brest-Litovsk peace.

"Yes, and what good did it do? They had only a handful of votes."

"But if the factories—the strikes?"

"Yes, what good did it do? The agitators were sent to the front trenches. We were practical and stayed in office."

I couldn't help reflecting that if the present Majority Socialist party made any effort to live up to its promises, say in regard to socialization, it would go out of office tomorrow. So I relented in my questions.

"What does the Party expect to do for the working class?"

"There isn't anything we *can* do. If we had a majority we could do something. But we haven't got a majority. Impractical people on the outside are always complaining that we don't do anything. But it isn't so easy when you get into office. What do they know about it, anyway?"

Then with a sudden fury: "I just wish the Independents would win some election and find out how hard it is. I couldn't wish them any worse luck."

"They have fine theories, oh, yes. But a practical politician has to deal with all sorts of difficulties that the theorist never thinks of. For instance, what chance is there of putting through socialization when the middle class have all the administrative posts? They never think of that. The middle class must have the administrative posts. They have the technical training for it. The working class isn't educated. They won't be able to fill those positions for another generation at least."

"We, who have been doing the practical work of the Party for thirty years, understand these things. But these theorists like Neurath come in, without any practical experience, and think they can become minister and begin socializing right away. A practical man, qualified to fill that office, would see the difficulties and not try to do anything. It takes thirty years of political experience in these things to become a practical man."

With this I regarded the subject as clarified and insisted that the interview was at an end. Promising that I would explain the difficulties of a Majority Socialist in Germany, I left the office to get a breath of fresh spring air.

Morris Hillquit and the Left Wing

By Sen Katagama

THE Left Wing position has been firmly established in the American Socialist movement as a result of the National Convention held recently in New York City. The position of the official Socialist Party was somewhat chaotic until Morris Hillquit contributed the now historic document—*The Socialist Task and Outlook*, printed in *The New York Call*. Before Hillquit's utterance the keynote of the Right Wing was unity within the Socialist Party, and they attacked the Left Wing as disturbers and separatists. Hillquit's statement reversed the official policy and attitude, which now resolved itself into the dictatorship of the Party officialdom over the Party and resulted in expulsion and suspension of Left Wing members.

It may prove interesting to say a few things about Hillquit's attitude.

The writer has known him since 1904 and took part with him in the International Congress of that year. Moreover, I have taken a part in the Left Wing movement in America.

A meeting of Left Wingers was held early in the winter of 1917, in Brooklyn. There were some seventeen or twenty comrades present: Comrades Leon Trotzky, A. Kollontay, N. Bukharin, S. J. Rutgers, L. Lore, L. C. Fraina, L. B. Boudin, myself and others. At that time the Left was constituted of those Socialists who stood against the defense of the fatherland, the anti-patriotic Socialists. Comrade Williams, representing the Propaganda League of America, which had been started by Boston Comrades and published *The International*, was present. The Propaganda League was at the time only a wavering Left Wing movement, later it became decidedly Left and published a new organ, *The New International*.

We intended to organize the Left Wing under the direction of Comrade Trotzky, and Madam Kolontay, who was going to Europe, was to establish a link between the European and American Left Wing movements. But soon the Russian revolution flamed in action. Comrade Trotzky left for Russia and later Bukharin. America entered the war against Germany, then came the St. Louis Convention which engrossed the attention of the American Comrades.

But with the Bolshevik revolution the physical as well as the spiritual relation between the American Left Wing movement and the Russian Bolshevik Party was firmly established. The group which first met in Brooklyn continued its existence, with some hesitation and lingering. With the success of the Bolshevik revolution it assumed more and more the Left Wing principles, expressed in its organ, *The Class Struggle*.

The revival of the Left Wing movement is due primarily to the Boston comrades. As Boston has been the home of revolutionary movements in the past so in this case the Boston comrades started *The Revolutionary Age* as the organ of the Boston Branch of the Socialist Party, which made a profound and widespread impression on the minds of the comrades all over the country. *The New International*, the organ of the Socialist Propaganda League, had been boycotted by the New York branches on the excuse that it was the organ of a separate organization, but *The Revolutionary Age* was the official organ of a Party Local so the Socialist Party officialdom could not very well boycott it, with results that are unnecessary to detail here.

Such in brief is the development of the

Left Wing movement in America. Its present situation need not be told in this article. The writer disagrees with Hillquit's expressions about the Left Wing movement. Of course, Hillquit is a clever lawyer and an extremely able man. He has made a profound impression on the Socialist Party (official) of America and has many followers and even worshippers. He can command the policy of the Party at his will, as in the case of the Left Wing boycott. The policy against the Left Wing was directed by Hillquit's article in *The New York Call*. "I am one of the last men in the Party" he says "to ignore or misunderstand the sound revolutionary impulse which animates the rank and file of this new movement, but the character and direction which it (the L.W.) has assumed, its program and tactics, spell disaster to our movement. I am opposed to it not because it is too radical, but because it is essentially reactionary and non-socialistic; not because it would lead us too far, but because it would lead us nowhere. To prate about the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' and of 'workers' soviets' in the United States at this time is to deflect the Socialist propaganda from its realistic basis."

He goes on to say that social reforms are the concrete expressions of the class struggle. "The Left Wing movement, as I see it, is a purely emotional reflex of the situation in Russia. The cardinal vice of the movement is that it started as a wing, i. e. a schismatic and disintegrating movement."

"The Left Wing movement is a sort of burlesque on the Russian Revolution. Its leaders do not want to convert their comrades in the Party."

Such are Hillquit's opinions about the Left Wing and he complains that the Left Wing leaders refuse to co-operate with "the aforesaid stage Centrists and Right Wingers." Again he thinks that "the Socialist Party of America as a whole has stood in the forefront of Socialist radicalism ever since the outbreak of the war," and "many of its officers and leaders have exposed their lives and liberties to imminent peril in defense of the principles of international Socialism."

To the writer Hillquit's "Socialist radicalism" and "principles of international Socialism" do not seem clear. In effect Hillquit says that the Russian Soviet Government has a legitimate place in the International Socialist movement, so has Hungary and the class conscious, radical Socialist movement of Germany, but he wants the American Socialist movement to be of a moderate type—that the socialization of industries and national life shall not be attempted by one master stroke but shall be carried out gradually and slowly. The working class shall not immediately assume the sole direction as a working class (even if it were possible), but it shall share government power and responsibilities with the capitalist class at least "during the period of transition." He does not say exactly these words but this is the inference from what he does say. He wants to keep all social reform planks in the Party platform as the every-day practice of the concrete class struggle. Hillquit must have approved Lee's position on the war with Germany and his voting for Liberty Bonds in the Aldermanic chamber. If this is so then his position seems practically the same as that of Scheidemann and the social-patriots of Europe.

No wonder Hillquit does not like the Left

Wing movement. No wonder he speaks of it as a "purely emotional reflex of the situation in Russia" and as a "schismatic and disintegrating movement, essentially reactionary and non-Socialistic" and that it would lead us nowhere."

He is mistaken in so styling the Left Wing. It is not a purely emotional reflex of the situation in Russia. It is not emotional but rational, not disintegrating but constructive. Further Hillquit says: "Its leaders do not want to convert their comrades in the Party." Convert them to what, we would like to know? The large majority of the rank and file of the Socialist Party are on the side of the Left Wing already. We, the Left Wing, do not co-operate as Hillquit would like with the social-patriots like Algernon Lee or the opportunistic Berger, who was pro-war on the Mexican question and anti-war against Germany!

Hillquit wants the Socialists of America to wait patiently until the bad after-war conditions "arouse the American workers from the narcotics of their leaders' empty phrases." The workers of America look for new light and guidance, and then the Socialists of America will have their hearing and their opportunity." A fine Fabianism! The workers of America are already looking for the new light and guidance that abundantly emanates from Russia and Hungary. We need not defend the position of the Communist Congress at Moscow against Hillquit's emotional criticism. The revolutionary Socialists of the world are better judges than he. When he says the Socialist movement of the world has been in the state of physical disunion, moral ferment and intellectual confusion, he speaks for himself and his like.

The delegates to the Communist Congress at Moscow were not men and women of intellectual confusion, but were sound in their judgment as is evidenced in their wise choice of Eugene Debs instead of Morris Hillquit as the leader of the American Socialist movement!

Hillquit may be a good lawyer, who can win a case with his remarkable skill in using English, and has been no doubt a good international Socialist with perhaps the exception of the question of Asiatic immigration, just as his colleague Berger, but his judgment and criticism of the Left Wing movement are entirely wrong and outrageous. "I am one of the last men in the Party to ignore or misunderstand the sound revolutionary impulse which animates the rank and file of this new movement." By saying this Hillquit is really condemning himself.

The Left Wing has a big but inspiring task: To preach the principles and tactics that were adopted at the recent National Left Wing Convention among the members of the Party. But we must first tell the members how their foremost leader, Morris Hillquit, thinks and attacks the Left Wing as reactionary and non-Socialistic.

During the coming weeks before the Socialist Party Emergency Convention, Hillquit and his followers will attempt to mislead the Party members by desperate attacks upon the Left Wing movement. But falsehoods and misrepresentations will not succeed in destroying the truth about the Left Wing movement. To attack and misrepresent the Left Wing is to serve the capitalist class, and such attacks are welcomed in the pages of the bourgeois newspapers. Don't be misled, comrades!

An Appeal to the British Workers

ARE you a trade unionist?
If not, why not?

Did you find the conditions of life in field or factory so pleasant that you had no desire for any improvement? Did you find your employer so obliging, and ready to give you what you asked, that you did not find it necessary to take other measures to get what you wanted? If so, then you have been more fortunate than most workers, for that is not the usual experience.

If you are a trade unionist, do you thoroughly understand the reason of your membership in a trade union? You know that the employer does not employ you for love, you know that, if he can, he will press your wages down to the lowest level, you know that when you are organized you are better able to get your demands accepted than when your employer has to deal with each man separately. Even so, your employers have resisted your demands, and you have been compelled to come out on strike.

You have learnt the need for working class discipline, and working class loyalty: for you will agree that there is no more contemptible creature than a blackleg. But being a trade unionist means much more than this. Have you ever asked yourself why it is that in spite of your organization, in spite of your strikes, even successful strikes, your position as a worker has not improved? Even when you obtained higher wages you were not able to buy more food or clothing with them. Did you not find that prices were rising always higher than your wages? It was like chasing a will-o'-the-wisp in trying to keep up with them. In spite of reductions of hours there were still plenty of unemployed. And how often have you found that with the introduction of a new machine your work has completely gone, and the trade union could do nothing to prevent it?

You see then merely to be a trade unionist is not enough. You are not merely up against the particular employer you work for, but against all employers as a class.

Your interests are not merely identical with the workers in your particular trade or industry, but with all workmen.

The Class War.

In fact you are up against the whole capitalist system. What is Capitalism? Capitalism is the system under which the land, the railways, factories, and all means of obtaining a livelihood are owned by private individuals, who use them for their own benefit.

Who owns England? Do you? Can you point to any part of England and say: "This is mine"? If you can you are one of the lucky ones. There are not many working men in England who can say that. The England that you call "your country" is not your country, but the landlords'. In England women whose husbands are fighting "for their country" are being evicted from their houses. If you do not pay rent to the landlord you cannot live in "your country."

The tremendous industry of England is not run for the purpose of providing you and your family with food and clothing. It is run for the purpose of providing profit and interest for the capitalists, financiers, and for rich shirkers generally to lead idle and luxurious lives while you slave and toil to create it.

All wealth comes from labor. Does labor get it? If it did there would be no poor people in England. The worker is robbed of the product of his labor. He is robbed by those who take the rent profit and interest, *i.e.*, the land-

By Nicholas Lenin; President, Council of People's Commissars; and G. Chitcherin; People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs.
From "The Workers' Dreadnought,"
London, England.

lords and the capitalists. Between you and them there is an irreconcilable antagonism. As long as there are capitalists, workmen will be robbed, and continue to remain poor. Your aim as a trade unionist, desiring to improve your conditions in life, should be to abolish capitalism, landlordism, and take possession of your country. You would be doing more good for yourself, if you conquered England for the English people.

The War and the Class War.

The productivity of labor has increased to such an extent that the capitalists have to find

people the war has been the cause of ruin, sorrow, grief, and disaster. For the capitalists it has been an El-Dorado. They have made such profits as they have never in their lives dreamed of. Immense fortunes have been made out of the blood and tears of the working people.

It has been the same in every country. In every country the capitalists have used the workers as cannon-fodder on the battlefields, and as material for exploitation at home. The capitalist class worships no other god but profit, and own allegiance to any country where profit can be obtained.

Does not this show that the peoples are not divided according to nationality, but according to class?

The workers of each country are not enemies to each other. Their real enemies are at home, the capitalists, who are robbing and exploiting the people, and who have set the workers against each other, in order that they may be able to fleece them the more.

The workers can only put an end to this exploitation, and mutual slaughter by overthrowing the capitalists and taking control into their own hands.

This is the logical outcome of being a trade unionist.

Our Revolution.

We, the workers of Russia, in our fights with the capitalist have always taken this view. In October last we swept the capitalists out of power, and declared that Russia belongs to the whole of the Russian people.

We are not going to grow food for the rich to feed, or weave cloth for the rich to wear. The people will enjoy the product of their labor.

Can you wonder that the capitalists of all countries should hate us? We have shattered their dreams of the vast fortunes to be made out of the great stores of natural wealth contained in our country.

Besides, if they allow us to remain in existence, will not the workers in the other countries follow suit, and do as we have done?

They have decided therefore to crush us before we have time to consolidate our position. And you, English trade unionists will be used for this purpose.

The Russian capitalists do not stand an earthly chance against us by themselves. But your capitalists know that their interests are the same as those of the Russian capitalists, and have come to their assistance.

Why do you not recognize your class interest in the same way? You as trade unionists are fighting your capitalists, we have settled our account with ours.

What are you going to do? Are you going to undo the work we have commenced? Are you going to do the dirty work of your enemies, the capitalist class? Or will you remain loyal to your own class—the working class—and support our effort to secure the world for labor?

Remember!

By fighting us you are not fighting for your country, but for the capitalists whom your fellow trade unionists at home are fighting. By fighting us you are fighting your fellow workers. Every blow you strike against us is a blow against yourselves. If you crush us, you will only succeed in strengthening the power of your capitalists to rob you and exploit you.

Fellow workers, on whose side are you—the workers' or the masters'?

A Letter From Jail

County Jail, Delaware, Ohio,
July 19, 1919.

The Revolutionary Age,
43 West 29th St., New York City.

Dear Comrades:—

I have read with interest and appreciation the July 5th issue of your paper. We fellows in prison certainly appreciate the stand of the Left Wing element in the party for Internationalism. Here is success to your cause in the August Convention.

I would be glad to receive further copies of your paper. My time is up here on December 8th. I am doing this nine month's sentence for refusing to register June 5th, 1917, having been in jail in Atlanta since that time until I was transferred to this jail.

Yours for the Third International,
AMMON A. HENNEY.

new markets to dispose of the surplus wealth and profits you have created. This is what this war is about. The German capitalists and the Allied capitalists are competing with each other as to who shall control the undeveloped parts of the world for the purpose of investing the profits they wrung out of the labor of their respective workers. This is why you have been brought to Russia. Your capitalists see in our country a rich field for investment. And so you have been brought here to overthrow our workers' government, and bring back the rule of the landlords, capitalists, and the Czar. It is indeed a grim jest, that the workers of Europe are slaughtering each other by the thousands for the purpose of deciding where the wealth they have been plundered of, shall go. Even during the war the class war has gone on. At the outbreak of the war the capitalists said to you: "We must not quarrel now. We are of the same race, we must all unite and show a solid front to the enemy." The workers believed them, and gave up everything in defense of their country. But the capitalists continued in their old business of bleeding the workers. With them it was "business as usual," only more so. For the

Social Reforms and the Left Wing

By Jay Lovestone

WHAT is the attitude of revolutionary Socialism to social reforms? Can a Socialist party be revolutionary and at the same time accept a program of "immediate demands"? Does a revolutionary policy demand that we neglect the present condition of the proletariat? Does the Left Wing want all or nothing? The answer to these questions touches the heart of the social-reform controversy—the so-called "immediate demands" issue.

At the outset let us look into the why and wherefore of capitalist reforms. It must be kept in mind that when one speaks of reforms, he is well aware of the fact that the capitalist system is not yet overthrown, and that the "reforms" are to be granted by capitalists. Why do capitalists grant reforms?

There are two reasons. First, in order to stifle the ever-increasing class consciousness of the workers. To the capitalist class, as to others, an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure. By granting certain "improvements" in the immediate conditions of the workers, the capitalist hides the class nature of the present system of production. By apparently being kind to the worker, the capitalist hides the conflict of interests and promotes the proletariat's belief in the brotherhood of labor and capital. Thus the spirit of independent class action by the proletariat is dampened. Reflect for a moment over the effect of the "Welfare Bureaus," of profit-sharing, and other immediate "reforms" on the employees. The extensive social reform program of Germany played no small part in cementing the proletariat's loyalty to the kaiser. The heralded "constructive reforms" fought for by the Social-Democratic Party are to a great extent responsible for the bloodshed in Germany today. Moderate Socialism in Germany, as everywhere, ascribed to bureaucratic petty bourgeois reforms a creative revolutionary value. The effect of these reform campaigns has been to dupe the proletariat as to the class nature of the state and bourgeois democracy. The German proletariat was misinformed as to the nature of the Communist order. And today Germany is not a land of Soviets but a bloody bourgeois republic!

There is another reason for the capitalists' granting "improvements" in the workers' conditions. The only use the capitalist has for the proletariat, is exploitation. But to be capable of exploitation a laborer must exist. He must do more than that. He must live. A broken-down worker is inefficient.

On the whole, the bourgeoisie are not as stupid as some of our twentieth-century utopian Socialists believe. Their investigators have made extensive studies proving that efficiency can be increased by shorter hours, and "improvements" in working conditions. The improved methods of production and business organization intensify the degree of exploitation. Hence, Capitalism can well stand "reform"—or change of tactics in its exploitation of the working class.

"Shall we fight for or against these 'immediate improvements'?" asks the moderate "Socialist." From this we are led straight to the object of a revolutionary Socialist political party. What is the purpose of a class conscious proletarian party? Its object should be none other than to always hold before the working masses the ideal of revolution, the ideal of a new society—a Communist society. A Socialist party should broaden the activity of

the proletariat into class activity, and should always point out the nature of Capitalism. The Socialists should not wage campaigns for the transformation of the state or for the enlarging of its functions. A Socialist political party must always be on guard against the seduction of the proletariat by the state activities in its "benefit." The parliamentary campaign and the legislature offer us a means of expressing our class interests, and of exposing bourgeois class interests.

The policy of the Left Wing, or revolutionary Socialism, is neither to oppose or to propose these "immediate demands," these "social reforms"—this whole gamut of "beneficial state activities or state Capitalism." The social reform of state Capitalism is today a fact to which Socialism must adjust itself.

The Left Wing does not intend to abandon the immediate struggle. To the Left Wing the immediate demands that arise serve as the dynamo of all action. By means of them we generate revolutionary currents amongst the proletariat. By aggressively engaging in this struggle the revolutionary sparks latent in the proletariat can be fanned into revolutionary fires against the bourgeoisie. We employ this struggle as a means of promoting the final struggle.

An analysis of the immediate problems confronting the American working class will help us clarify this matter. Let us analyze the attitudes of revolutionary and petty bourgeois Socialism towards them. First, let us take the unemployment problem. The tide of unemployment is rising. Shall we say to the capitalist class "Get out" and presto—there will be no unemployment?

The Left Wing holds that unemployment—rather disemployment—is an inherent characteristic of Capitalism. As long as Capitalism exists there will be disemployment. The problem cannot be "solved" as long as Capitalism is intact. Unlike the petty bourgeois Right Wing Socialism, the Left Wing believes that not even the capitalist state, that miracle-organ, that God of Right Wing Socialism, can "solve" this problem. Therefore the Left Wing disdains petitioning the President, as the official organ of Right Wingism, *The Call*, has done. We will not petition even a fourteen-point capitalist champion for the establishment of Government Employment Bureaus. What more dangerous weapon against the proletariat could be given the bourgeois government than control of employment. What chance would a labor spokesman, a hounded "agitator," have of getting a job? Perhaps this accounts for J. P. Morgan's generosity in contributing thousands of dollars for the maintenance of these "public" employment bureaus! Again to "solve" this "problem" of Capitalism; reactionary, utopian Socialism agitates for unemployment insurance. Has insurance ever done away with unemployment anywhere? No! Not even in Germany where the "Socialists" now have a majority!

But cannot anything at all be done to combat the immediate distress of unemployment? Yes. The Left Wing has a plan of action in meeting this immediate demand. And in this struggle the Left Wing sees a means of promoting the final struggle. Suppose there are today two million unemployed in America. Shall we invest our energy in several tons of paper (petitions)? Shall we appeal for the votes of "all liberty loving citizens" and promise them a "solution" by insurance? No! The

Left Wing would show the why and wherefore of unemployment. The Left Wing would take advantage of this crisis of Capitalism and spread revolutionary propaganda amongst the unemployed. It would not stop there. The Left Wing would propose and work for a country-wide strike for shorter hours so that fewer workers might be disemployed.

Is this an abandonment of the immediate struggle? Why waste energy in attempting to solve the insoluble, the contradictions of Capitalism? Why misdirect the efforts of the working class when splendid opportunity is offered to lead them into revolutionary channels? Is this demanding all or nothing? Is such a policy as outlined above based on the notion of "damn the immediate benefits and the worse the better?"

Let us take another example; the release of political prisoners and militarism. In its attack on militarism the Left Wing would not be pacifist-humanitarian. Militarism is a phenomenon inherent in a class society. Only working class opposition to militarism is to be sought. And the anti-militarism campaign is to be fought solely on a class basis. Individual "conscience," "scruples," "democracy," "justice," "liberty," and "inviolable rights" constitute the present Socialist Party's ammunition in its attack on militarism. The Left Wing does intend to take a hand in "settling" the "immediate" issue of militarism. But it does not intend to fight militarism by means of petty bourgeois, eighteenth-century phraseology. The Left Wing will expose the class nature of militarism and thus enlighten the proletariat as to its dangers.

As to political prisoners a Communist Party would agitate continually for their release. No appeal would be made to bourgeois democrats and "idealists." There would be no co-operation with all sorts of "radicals" in order to save the peoples "conscience" and "individuality." Mass demonstrations and political strikes would be urged. Continuous propaganda would be made among factory workers in order to show them the class nature of capitalist law, justice, and order. An appeal would be made solely to the working class to show its power and compel the bourgeoisie to release all class-war prisoners. Only when the proletariat will be strong enough to force the bourgeoisie to release the champions of labor will the class-war prisoners be freed. To rely on capitalist mercy or appeal to the fairness and justice of bourgeois democracies is to be criminally negligent towards proletarian interests. But to endeavor to promote class-consciousness and class power by means of this "immediate demand" is to be preparing the working class for the revolution.

We must now ask ourselves whether these "reforms" sanctioned by the capitalist State and sanctified by moderate Socialism are really efficacious. First of all, assume that there is certain social legislation which if carried out would be of benefit to the working class. Many States, either because of labor unrest or excessive physical deterioration of the laborer, have put on their Statute books certain laws aimed at alleviating the distress among the workers. But—how many of these are enforced by the State authorities representing "all the people?" What's more, to what extent will these be enforced unless the workers in the industries concerned, take matters into their own hands and strike for their enforcement? This is social legislation—in the factory and by the factory hands themselves. The

medium of such, effective, social legislation is not the capitalistically legal representative sitting in the capitalist congress. There are today in the United States thousands of mine and other dangerous occupations laws not at all enforced—though “socially legislated.” The only relief laws carried out are those for the enforcement of which the proletariat has used industrial might or stands ready to use industrial might. Really, these laws might just as well never have been legislated into existence.

To say that there is Socialism in the horde of factory acts is as stupid as to say that there is Socialism in the cleaning of streets and lighting of street lamps. Both are indispensable to Capitalism. Both are inevitable. To condemn or commend either is futile. Capitalism can and will take care of these itself. For a revolutionary movement to invest its energy in these is supreme asininity.

Again, there is a large class of so-called social reforms “which aim at saving and cheapening the means of living for the workers.” Should these become universal they are followed by a corresponding reduction of wages. In considering these, it must be remembered that “every narrowing of the cost of production of labor power; i. e., every permanent reduction of price of the necessities of life for the worker brings about a reduction of the value of labor power at once, and is followed, consequently by a corresponding fall in the wages of labor.”

Under Capitalism the value of a commodity is determined by the amount of labor power socially necessary to produce and reproduce it. In capitalist society labor power (the workingman in the wage market) is a commodity. His value is determined by what it costs to produce and reproduce him. In common parlance the tendency under Capitalism is for the worker to get about enough to live on and reproduce. On the whole, the worker gets in wages what it costs him to live and reproduce. Of course, strikes influence this status of the worker. But generally, strikes are rather defensive measures. In the main, strikes are waged by the workers not because they want more than enough to get along on but because they object to being paid less than enough to get along on. The mass of workers strike to insure pay and conditions guaranteeing this necessary quantity.

“To demand the suppression of poverty without demanding the overthrow of all the rest” is ridiculous. It is most asinine to demand of Capitalism that it change the law which is its very self-defense. Why should a Socialist movement plunge into absurdities by demanding that the bourgeois State shall cease to be the buckler and defense of capitalist society and of this law? Moderate, utopian, Socialism is built on the assumption that capitalist society “admits of certain errata without revolution, that is to say, without a fundamental change in the elementary structure of society itself.” This is nothing more than a piece of ingenuity! These “benefits” bestowed on labor by the capitalist State are not steps to Socialism. On the contrary, the capitalist class employs them as means of side-stepping Socialism. To maintain that a bit of social legislation here and there is a means of gradually bringing in Socialism and pushing out Capitalism is about as silly as the frog’s belief that because it can jump to a height of six inches it can, therefore, in four jumps reach a height of two feet.

Moderate Socialists and other social reformers are particularly emphatic in making their concern for the immediate improvement of the workers’ conditions. Because of this

supposed great concern on their part they invest their energy and hope in social reforms. How foolishly adventurous! The Left Wing is infinitely more concerned with the welfare of the proletariat at all times than the moderates are. That is why the Left Wing is a revolutionary organization. Because the Left Wing is ever anxious to promote the proletarian’s class interests it adopts revolutionary demands and unequivocally rejects reform demands.

Why becloud the issue? By having revolutionary demands—demands which strike at the root of the issue—a working class movement has a far better chance of securing immediate improvement in the laborers’ conditions than by having reform demands. Suppose the 12,000 Bethlehem Steel workers want an eight-hour day and a 20 per cent increase in wages. How are the steel workers to proceed in order to insure success in this struggle for the immediate improvement of their conditions? Shall they beseech a national organizer of the A. F. of L. to go into conference with Schwab? Shall they “bargain collectively” and talk things over like good citizens of a free democracy? Shall they perhaps appeal to their congressmen to have a committee chosen to investigate the merits, fairness, justice, and practicability of their case? Or shall they rather completely tie up Bethlehem Steel Works by a general strike? Shall they exert all their power to prevent scabbing? Shall they make an effort to call out workers from other industries in a sympathetic strike? The first mentioned are reform tactics. The latter are revolutionary tactics. The steel workers have a far better chance of success in their battle when they adopt revolutionary policies, than when they adopt compromise policies.

The easiest and most direct route to the immediate improvement of the proletariat’s conditions lies in revolutionary activity. The capitalist exploiters will not yield unless hard-pressed. And no proletarian pressure can be too terrific for this end. In short, whatever improvement can be had in the workers’ condition under Capitalism is to be gotten most by a movement which is revolutionary, clear in its aim, and class conscious. Truly, common-sense shouts for help when it is maintained that sycophantic, meek, reformist policies are efficient means of avoiding degradation and starvation of the proletariat. American industrial history gives eloquent proof of the truth of our contention as to the comparative efficacy of social reform and revolutionary activity in the immediate struggle.

One of the most important requisites for the success of a revolutionary party is a sound organization. A Socialist Party’s insistence on the so-called immediate demands or social reforms leads to perilous situations. This may lead, as it has led, to co-operation with non-Socialist groups, to a blurring of the supreme issue—the class struggle. But how long ago was it that the American Socialist Party co-operated with the People’s Council and sundry anti-preparedness committees? Does not the Socialist Party still co-operate with Tenants’ Leagues and radical “liberty-loving” people of all classes? Have not these reform tactics given the Socialist Party a leadership animated by a desire for personal aggrandizement? A “Socialist” Congressman was elected on such issues by “all the people” of his district, by his constituents, and not by the Socialists. And didn’t this “Socialist legislator” play safe when he violated party rules and principles? Could such a super-man ever be a national representative of a revolutionary party?

Furthermore, do not these reform tactics give us a leadership strongly characterized by its ignorance of Socialism? A perusal of the list of “socialist professors” hired by the Rand School of what is supposed to be Social Science affords more glaring proof of this. And truly, if the Party’s spokesmen are not to know what they are talking about, who is? Since when can the blind lead the blind?

Why confuse an issue the clarity of which is ever-imperative? Let us recall Hillquit’s (Socialist Party’s) last “splendid” Mayoralty campaign for cheap milk and a “general democratic peace.” The ghosts of the Malones and Pinchots haunt the Party’s platforms. Recollections of Benson’s anti-preparedness campaign for mines, submarines, and referendums still linger in our memories! What unfathomable revolutionary fervor this moderate Socialist standard bearer did generate amongst the American proletariat by his aggressive fight for the “immediate solution” of the “problem” of militarism!

We have reached a stage in America where radical bourgeois parties can well promote these “immediate reforms.” We are face to face with an epoch when every ounce of proletarian energy should be invested in the main issue. Capitalism is crumbling everywhere. The circulatory (credit) system of bourgeoisdom is clogged beyond repair. In plain language, victorious “Great Britain, France, and Italy have no commodities to send out with which to pay for continued large imports from the United States. And they have neither gold nor American securities to send here in place of goods.” Therefore, little exchange is being bought in the New York market by importers. Add to this the fact that American exporters are compelled to sell at lower and lower prices. At what point will this process halt? Will our industrial barons halt or contract their operations? Consider for a moment the effect of this crisis in capitalist exchange on American industrial conditions. To contract or to halt operations means to increase the army of disemployed by hundreds of thousands. And perhaps by millions! It is not insignificant that a 1919 army of disemployed differs from a 1914 army of this kind in that it is very much more like an army. On the other hand, let our finance giants take pay in the promises of a continent haunted by Bolshevism, Spartacism, Communism, general industrial unrest, bankruptcy, political jealousy, and economic rivalry. What immeasurable profit!

History shows that of all the revolutionary classes the proletariat is the least favored to carry out a revolution. Yet, the historic mission of the working class is to carry out “a revolution that is pivoted upon the most complicated synthesis.” The bourgeoisie had economic power. They thereby made inroads on the military power of the feudal rulers. The bourgeoisie had many other advantages. The proletariat, on the other hand, lacks the economic, military, or intellectual advantages. The working class is an expropriated class in every sense of the word. And its enemy, the bourgeoisie, is cunning, ruthless, and powerful. The Social Revolution will not fall into our laps. We have before us an herculean task! The advantage we possess as a social class is numbers. Ceaseless education and organization must be our policy in order to fully utilize this social advantage. Hence, we should strive to have the proletariat rather turn his energy into channels leading to revolutionary, real, and permanent advantages than to “immediate,” petty, fleeting gains,

Soviet Hungary's Task

By Joseph Pogany

People's Deputy to the Budapest Worker's Council--Address Delivered in the Council

COMRADES! After the speeches of the various District Deputies, after the speeches of Comrades Kunfi, Kun and Boehm, there can be but one duty for all, for us who sit here, for you who sit there, and for all who stand behind us: To grasp our weapons and in a united body go to the front. Proletarian regiments have been organized; there should be proletarian regiments to protect the Hungarian Soviet Republic against all foes. Comrades! We do not desire to understand only one aspect of the problem. Here it is a question not of administration (that's so, that's so!) but of arms. And I am surprised that in this body any other point of view should find expression than that of relentless war. Now no one has the right to say anything only: "Go out to the fronts, or into the factories through which the troops at the front are sustained and supported." Otherwise we are at lost.

A Message to the Proletariat of the World.

The session today should be a great expression, a message of the first import to those of our proletarian brothers, who although on the other side of our borders, still view the offensive against us with the greatest horror. We must send them this message: "Comrades, Brothers! Stand fast! Comrades, Brothers! Strike, arise, arm yourselves and help us to victory. We do but emancipate you from foreign imperialists." (Applause.)

Our second message should be addressed to the proletariat who in the Rumanian, Czech, Serbian, and French armies serve the cause of their own oppressors, and to them we must cry out: "Brothers! You have a weapon in your hands and you wield it against us! Comrades, French, Czech, Rumanian and Serbian

proletarians and peasants: Do you not know that every shot you fire against the Hungarian Soviet Republic, is in reality fired at yourselves, against your well-being, against your own future, against your proletarian comrades, whose families you destroy?"

Message to the Hungarian Bourgeoisie

Also, Comrades, we must send a message to that Hungarian bourgeoisie who on the other side of the demarcation line seized the first moment to restore the capitalist system, who already dream of a kingdom, who have already raised the white flag with the inscription: "Long live the King!" (Strong exclamations: Destroy them! Fearful noise)

To them we must assert: "Tremble before our vengeance! We will return and this time wipe you off, not only as a class but also in fact to the last man, to the last counter-revolutionist. (Unceasing, deafening, spirited applause and approbation.)

Comrades! With a voice, resounding afar, do we send forth from here, out of this assembly the message to the Hungarian bourgeoisie at home, let them take notice that from today on we consider them as war hostages. Let them not rejoice, let them not place white flags in their windows, for with their own blood will we dye their flags red! (Stormy applause.)

In conclusion, however, Comrades, we must issue a message from this body to ourselves, to our proletarian comrades in the factories and outside in the villages. Openly, without circumlocution Comrade Kun has said in this

assembly that the Proletarian Revolution is in danger. We must save the Proletarian Fatherland! Everyone here is a blackguard and a betrayer, a worthless scamp, who, if he can be spared at home, does not go with us, all of us, to the front. This Workers' Council, this Soviet Government, would be without honor, if it should not immediately want to separate itself: One part to work at home, governing the central administration, the other to go to the front, leading our proletarian brothers out of the factories, from the fields to the front. (Stormy applause.)

The question is one of life or death, and we, Comrades, want life! This beautiful spring that blooms outside, is not here so that we vanish! We cling to life! We cling to that which we have attained, and to that upon which the fate of this country, of the entire proletariat rests. (Spirited hurrahs and applause.)

Comrades! We want to live! We do not want to collapse, and for this reason we give, for our class rule, for our proletarian dictatorship, for the world revolution, if necessary our very lives! (Continued applause.)

That is what we proclaim from out of this assemblage to every proletarian, every bourgeois, over our own borders, out to every Socialist and Workers party. Comrades, this spirit must gush forth from this assemblage. A single, unified, powerful call to all the world: we desire to live, we want to win, we will win! (Continued hurrahs and applause.)

(At the close of the meeting a resolution was carried that half the members of the Soviet Government, the Workers' Council, and half the general workers should go to the front.)

A Call to Blockade the Allies

Issued by The Provisional Committee of the Scandinavian Workers' Movement, Party of the Left.

FOR more than a century the blood-stained despotism of Russian Czarism has been the surest support of reaction in Europe, the surest obstacle to Socialism and revolution. After a heroic fight lasting for decades, the Russian proletariat has succeeded in overthrowing Czarism, and in carrying out the workers' revolution in its country. It has thus also paved the way for the workers of western Europe to become masters in their own house, for now no fear from Russia threatens the western European revolution from the back. This is the world historic situation which our great pioneers Marx and Engels expected for the social revolution.

Does the western European proletariat know how to make use of this order. Shameful to say conditions look very dark. International Capitalism is doing its utmost to suppress the Soviet power in Russia, to help reaction back into power in Russia, and thus again to build up the powerful support for western European Capitalism, and the workers of England, America and France, scarcely lift a finger in protest. They are permitting their capitalists to accomplish the deed most pregnant with evil in the history of the world, and they content themselves with the crumbs which these capitalist states' victories in the war are dealing out to their workers, crumbs that are cut from the already scanty bread of the workers in the vanquished nations, now being plundered.

If the capitalists succeed in this work, they have gained a victory without precedent. Im-

perialism has succeeded in putting through the world war with impunity—in carrying out its terrible crime against humanity—and now stands before us stronger than ever. For it has as usual succeeded in slaying the international solidarity of the working class, in dividing the forces of its mortal enemy. The International does not consist of resolutions passed at Berne, or anywhere else, but means common action, a common battle waged by the proletariat of

all lands against a united world Imperialism. If the workers of the Entente countries, now desert this common effort, the International is dead, a fatal poison has been smuggled into the ranks of the international solidarity of the workers. For a long time their ranks will be split up, their strength paralyzed.

We, the representatives of the workers of the Scandinavian countries, who feel very deeply the bloody seriousness of the situation, now turn to speak to the workers in all the Entente countries, in England, America, France, Belgium, and Italy. We have inaugurated a blockade against all these nations that are waging war against Soviet Russia, in order in this manner to cripple the attacks launched by the imperialists. We call upon you to join us in this blockade. But we expect more than this from you. The responsibility in this world historic situation is upon your soldiers. The capitalists of your countries have come out victorious in the great world conflict. They are now the masters of the imperialistic world.

They have now become also leaders in the struggle of Capitalism against the working class. The workers alone must therefore direct the chief attack against them. We do not doubt that your powerful organized forces will be able to cope with this task, if you are only united and willing. We Scandinavian workers address our appeal to you. Close your ranks for a united struggle by the side of the entire world proletariat.

(Signed) The Provisional Committee for the Scandinavian Workers Movement, Party of the Left.

SPECIAL NOTICE TO NATIONAL LEFT WING CONFERENCE DELEGATES.

I was elected treasurer of the Conference and the task of winding up the affairs of the Conference rests upon me. I find myself with a debt of \$500.00 dollars on my hands due to the Convention Reporting Company which took the stenographic minutes and several hundred dollars still due to delegates for railroad fare.

There is about a thousand dollars still coming from delegates on the basis of the fifty dollars tax as revised by the Conference. Unless this money comes in it will mean that the reporting company cannot be paid and we will be unable to print the stenographic reports in pamphlet form as the Conference decided.

Therefore I call upon all the delegates who still owe money to the Conference Fund to bring the matter to the attention of the respective local, branch or federation and have the money sent to me immediately.

MAXIMILIAN COHN,

The Conquest of Capitalism

(Continued from last issue.)

THE methods used by British Imperialism have varied greatly: lashing the negroes in the rubber industry until the blood oozed from their pores, starving the Hindu by robbing him of his wheat, fleecing the Mexican and the workers of Tammerfors in the cotton industries. Such is the history of the *making of wealth from blood*—from the blood of the slaves, semi-slave people (coolies), wage workers, small tillers, lumber workers, of barbarian and “civilized” people. Still more wealth, and still more territory in which to invest it! Still more colonies, and still more *battleships* and professional soldiers to maintain discipline!

So long as England led the other nations industrially and was master of the seas, she boasted of not needing duty on her “free trade” for the support of her monopoly. But when competition appeared, the English capitalists demanded protective tariff to unite the mother country and her colonies against the rest of the world.

The developing industry of the United States had all it could do in satisfying the demand of the United States, but this demand was protected by high tariff. In 1898 the United States started on an ocean adventure, returning victorious over Cuba, the Philippines, and some Pacific islands. She entered the race of Imperialism; began to strive for world power. France schemed for Algiers, Russia for the far East, Italy for North America. Austria for the Balkans, Japan for Korea and the islands, Germany for Africa and Mesopotamia, and all of these for China. Statistics indicate, that in 1876 only ten per cent of Africa was colonial territory, but in 1900, this had jumped to 90 per cent. The subject territory of Polynesia had increased from 56 per cent in 1876 to 98 per cent in 1900. In America and Asia there is no unsubjected territory. Between the years 1884 and 1900 England grabbed 3,700,000 square miles with a population of 54 million; France 3,600,000 square miles, population 36,000,000; Germany a million square miles with a population of 14,000,000; Belgium 900,000 square miles, 30,000,000 people; Portugal 800,000 square miles, 9,000,000 people.

When we remember that capital seeks for openings in strange areas we will readily understand that the work of the diplomats increases. It becomes the duty of the embassy not only to attend to political affairs but also to look after business matters. Battleships and large armies are then needed to carry out the plans of the embassy. Moreover, at the same time that the preparation for the war offered the best opportunity for investments (national loans) and the best market (preparation for the army), it became the first duty of the “patriotic” newspapers to support all clamour for war.

Imperialism and the Workers.

How did the economic evolution whose political manifestation became Imperialism affect the workers? The experience of Finland was that the organization of the employers made the winning of strikes more difficult. Frequently, behind many industries, a glimpse of the bankers could be seen; the small business man confessed that he would like to grant the demands of the workers, but the bankers threatened to discontinue credit and to force him into bankruptcy.

We know that it has been the object of the trust to crush trade unionism. The steel trust

From the Finnish Communist Paper “*Viesti*”
Published at Stockholm.
Translated by O. W. OKSANEN

has severed all connections with the unions, even demanded slave contracts; to get employment with the Steel trust a man must repudiate unionism. Everywhere in the world the ever increasing organized workers found themselves opposed by more rapidly increasing organized capital, and many bitter and bloody strikes either failed or became defeats. Even though some groups (English miners) succeeded in getting a few concessions, figures will prove that they did not keep pace with the increase in the cost of living, to say nothing about the improvement of conditions. It is not strange that the form of organization (international, industrial), and the methods of attack (mass action, general strike) became subjects of vital discussion.

The world war broke out. It continued for more than four years. Here we shall not discuss its causes. Let it, however, be observed that the imperialists of both groups have exposed the sins of the “enemy” countries, but these wrongs will be greatly overshadowed by the graft of the foreign embassies disclosed by the revolution.

It is, however, important for us to note that this war has exposed the rottenness of Capitalism. In the beginning it elevated the development of Capitalism to an apparently high stage. The predicted panic did not come, and the centralized bankers cunningly handled the whirlpool of immense sums by manipulating paper. The organizing ability of the capitalists became evident in the admirable system by which the machinery of the banks, trusts, corporations, and trade unions was united under the supervision of the government and its officials (also numerous citizens’ organizations) into one great unit. This machinery was created to *serve death*, to destroy the human race. Its work has been very thorough: on the slaughter fields twenty million have been crippled and killed. Plague and pestilence have raged among the soldiers and civilians. “Organized” and unorganized starvation has gnawed the lives from tens, hundreds, yes, millions of men, women and children not only in the warring but also in the neutral countries. And as the industrial machinery was transformed into meat-grinding machines, so the substitutes, chemical slops which poison the vitals of the body, have taken the place of food.

Politically the phenomenon of the imperialistic war proved to be just as horrible. Unhesitating despotism was declared on the first day of the war. In the guise of “military necessity” strict censorship was established. Those opposing war (Jaures, etc.) were shot as a warning to others. The Bourgeoisie instituted a persecution of the bourgeois “peace advocates,” and any of these, particularly in America, who opposed the war were given prison sentences from 10 to 20 years. In Russia the Bolshevik representatives in the Duma were sent to Siberia. Karl Liebknecht in Germany, McLean in England, and numerous others were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. No one knows the number of men shot as “rebels” and “vicious men”; the courts-martial of Hungary alone butchered over ten thousand.

The skilfully arranged reason for the war—“the enemy is attacking the fatherland!”—

surprised the workers. The sudden mobilization swept them into the ranks, in front of the revolvers of the officers. The treason of the representatives of the Social-Democrats in supporting a defensive war confused the issue. So capital for once could admire its achievement: obediently, yes, enthusiastically, millions marched to their doom for the interest of the exploiter, at the same time that behind the front line the peace was signed and all the powers of body and mind were sacrificed to the war idols.

Capital could not dream for anything more. It hauled in the gold and lived in luxury. But a crash came.

A crash was bound to come. The wonderful system of capital was constructed on a treacherous foundation. Humanity cannot live on slaughter. Revolutions came. First in Russia, then in Bulgaria, Austria and Hungary, finally in Germany. It is about to begin in the land of the cocky, crowing, English-American capitalist. There also the necessities of life are exhausted; production has served death only. Capital will not have time to swing it over to serve even the livelihood of the slaves; it has time for nothing else, at present, but war. It must maintain discipline in its colonies and provinces (India and Ireland). It must attempt to strangle the revolutionists of Germany, Austria, Russia. And it must discipline its own workers as well as struggle against Socialism throughout the world.

But still very few understand that the only remedy for these horrible conditions is Socialism. Certain Social-Democrats and trades union men, who during the war have prostituted themselves in the service of Imperialism, are trying to convince the world that Capitalism is unconquerable today. They argue that it still has the possibility of life, that democracy will eliminate its most “glaring” faults, that it is possible to do away with secret diplomacy, without abolishing the secrecy of business, that we can create a “league of nations” and can gradually introduce Socialistic reforms.

This is all imagination; still worse, it is a dangerous deception. It is unnecessary to argue that Capitalism’s hour has struck. It made its system serve death and rottenness, therefore it must pass away. It desired to subject the worker still living into a slavery which would be the stepping stone to starvation, disease, misfortunes on the job, and slaughter in future wars. By these means it drives the workers on the road to revolution. Unfortunate are those who claim to be “of the workers and Socialists” but are not organizing the revolution nor fighting in the ranks of the revolutionists. Those workers who listen to their stories find no time to organize, nor have any real part in the fight. This leads to an ever increasing number of the victims. These victims become the burden of the compromising Socialists.

Are not the workers ready for victory? They are! They must conquer. What they now lack they will learn in action. This has been proved in Russia. It does not pay them to go to the capitalist school, for there their ability and intelligence would only deteriorate. Furthermore, Capitalism is using its butchers to strip the workers of their weapons. The workers must not drop their rifles, nor let go the machine gun. Capitalism desires still to slaughter, and is slaughtering the workers—before long it must be slaughtered.

Starving the Soviet Republics

THE Peace Conference has arranged things very nicely for the dominant Imperialism. It has concluded a peace of conquest and aggrandizement. It has divided the world financially and territorially. It has assured to the nations of the Allies the purpose for which they went to war—world power and domination.

It is astonishing the slick way in which the Peace conference has arranged matters. Under the protection of President Wilson's "14 Points" the Conference has perpetrated acts of reaction more terrible than any in the world's history. Under the protection of ideological camouflage, each of the victorious nations has annexed territory and got away with it under the guise of "mandatories." Great Britain has added about one million and a half square miles of territory to its dominions; France almost as much, with Italy and Japan trying to equal the larger brigands.

The Shantung Peninsula affair is characteristic. The Peace Conference, mouthing its idealistic phrases, has given Japan control over Chinese territory with a population of 40,000,000 people. The Chinese have protested; but they have been brutally squelched by the Conference of the Great Powers.

All these territorial "adjustments" are related to economic problems, to financial mastery of the world. It is, in other words, an economic peace for Imperialism.

The Conference has concluded peace in order to assure these "adjustments" of power. But the Great Powers realize that these adjustments are temporary as long as the menace of Bolshevism is not crushed.

The Peace Conference, accordingly, is concluding "peace" in such a way as to make arrangements for a new war against the Soviet Republics in Hungary and Russia.

Bolshevism is the protest of the masses against conquest and spoilation. Bolshevism will not for a moment tolerate the adjustments of the Peace Conference, which constitute a threat to the peace and liberty of the world. The victory of Bolshevism means the end of the imperialistic division of the world in the interest of the Great Powers. Bolshevism calls upon the workers of the world to crush Capitalism and Imperialism, re-organize the world so that all peoples shall be assured of peace by making the world a universal Soviet Republic.

In the Allied countries the conscious proletariat is prepared, at any moment, to sweep aside the old order and unite forces with Soviet Russia and Hungary. The existence of

these two Soviet Republics is a challenge to the proletariat of the Allies to act for the conquest of power. So the Allies must crush Bolshevism, else they be crushed.

This is being tried in a number of ways. Peace is being concluded with the provision that certain nations shall make war against Soviet Russia, other nations shall make war against Soviet Hungary. Poland and Finland are to fight Soviet Russia; Rumania and Jugo-Slavia are to fight Soviet Hungary. Small nations are being created for no other purpose than to constitute the instruments of the Allies against Bolshevism.

Accordingly, while "peace" is being concluded new wars are being organized against the Soviet Republics.

But this is not all. While military war is being waged against Russia and Hungary, the Allies wage another war—economic war.

The Peace Conference has decided, according to the press, not to allow the resumption of trade relations either with Russia or with Hungary as long as the Soviet Government controls. Neutrals are prohibited from trading with these two nations under threat of being denied trade with the Allies. In other words, the Soviet Republics of Hungary and Russia are to be blockaded.

This blockade is one of the most infamous acts of history. It is worse than any crime perpetrated by Imperial Germany during the war. It is worse than any act perpetrated by the Allies during the war.

Russia is shattered; Hungary is shattered. They are shattered because of the war, because of the crimes of the old regime.

Reconstruction is the task. But reconstruction implies trade relations with the world. The Allies deny Russia and Hungary these trade relations.

The capitalist press says that Hungary and Russia are starving because of Bolshevism. They are starving because of the war and the blockade of the Allies. If a blockade of France and Italy were to be organized, these two nations would starve within one week. Italy and France are disorganized, are starving, are in almost as bad a plight as Soviet Russia and Hungary; but what maintains them is trade with the outside world.

Peace was to have restored normal relations to the world. But the Peace Conference is not trying to restore normal relations unless these relations promote the supremacy of Capitalism.

The Allies accuse Bolshevism of starving

Russia and Hungary. But it is the Allies who are doing the starving. It is the Allies who are condemning millions and millions of people to starvation because they do not agree with the politics of these people.

The Allies are making it clear that they will do all in their power to crush these Communist Republics. They dare not send their own soldiers against the Red Army of Russia; so they finance Kolchak; Kolchak is beaten, so the Allies institute a murderous blockade.

It is now clear that the Russian people are not against the Soviet Republic; it is now clear that Kolchak does not represent the masses of the Russian people. Yet the Allies still insist that the Soviet Government is not representative.

Every act of the Allies against Russia or Hungary is an act against the workers in their own countries.

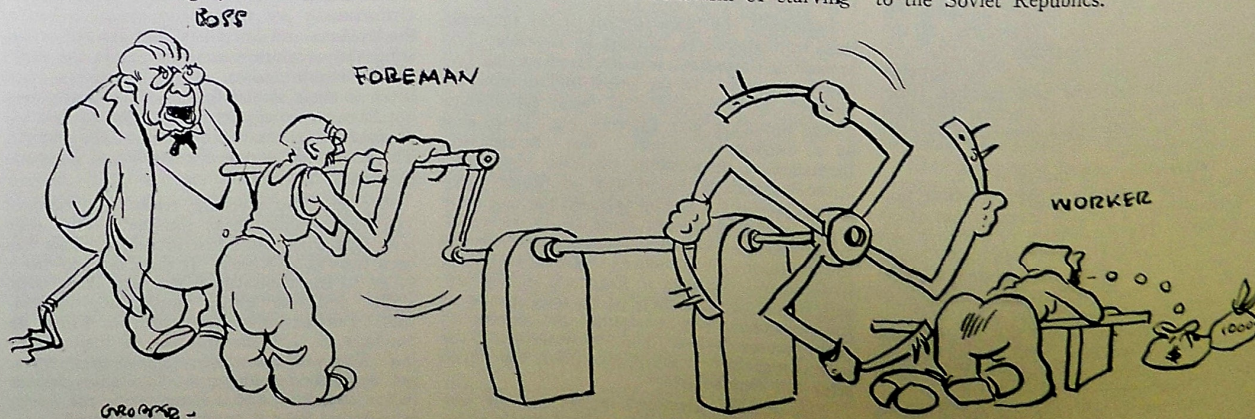
The French, British and Italian workers are realizing this. They are preparing to act against the Allies blockade. In Naples the Seamen's Federation first prevented a British ship laden with munitions for Kolchak from leaving the harbor, and then they took all the munitions off before allowing the ship to sail.

It is necessary that the workers of the Allies should act drastically against the blockade of Soviet Russia and Hungary. It is necessary to break the blockade.

There is a struggle now going on in the world, which is symbolized by the struggle between the Peace Conference and Soviet Russia. The Peace Conference represents reaction and the capitalists of the world; Soviet Russia represents progress and the workers of the world. One or the other must meet defeat. The Peace Conference uses hypocrisy, deceit and brutality to put over its purposes. It is the centre of reaction. If it conquers, the world will be dominated by oppression and exploitation.

Starvation is the final resort of murderous Capitalism. The Russian people do not ask for food; they do not ask for charity; they simply ask that the blockade be lifted, that they shall be allowed to trade with the world as all other nations.

But the Allies do not want to permit this. They want to protect their spoils, to protect the infamous acts of the Peace Conference. Soviet Russia and Hungary are today the one factor that assures peace and justice to the workers; the workers of the world must rally to the Soviet Republics.



Much had already been written of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but no one knew exactly in what form it would be realized. The Russian Revolution shows us the precise form of that dictatorship. It is the Republic of the Soviets. That is why the arms of the Soviets are inscribed on the banners of the best ranks of the international proletariat.

Correspondence

Letter from Oakley C. Johnson, Secretary-Treasurer, Socialist Party of Michigan to National Secretary, Left Wing Section.

YOURS of the 10th instant, suggesting that Michigan Socialists purchase dues stamps from the National Left Wing Organization, thus affiliating with said organization, at hand. It will be impossible to comply with your request regarding the purchase of Left Wing stamps. Michigan is issuing its own special and propaganda stamps, and, in conjunction with the Russian and other foreign language federations, and with various locals throughout the country, is working for the formation of a *Real Socialist Party*, not the capture of an imitation one.

I know you regret that the Socialist Party should split up, and especially that the revolutionary section should split into factions, but this process, historically considered, seems inevitable. It has taken place in the countries of Europe, notably in Russia, where the Social Revolutionists split into Maximalists and Minimalists, and the Social Democrats into Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, making four Socialist parties. The same thing is happening here. No one desires harmony more than we do, but you cannot harmonize inharmonious principles and elements. The only group that can function in a social crisis in a revolutionary way is one that is united on principles; any success that you may have in uniting the divers and heterogenous elements that now compose the majority of the Left Wing will be barren as far as permanent and useful results are concerned. Hence the stand taken by the Michigan comrades on the Left Wing proposition.

OAKLEY C. JOHNSON,
State Secretary-Treasurer.

Answer of I. E. Ferguson to O. C. Johnson.

I do not understand why you write that you know I regret that the Socialist Party should split up. I have been quite insistent that the Socialist Party now rightfully belongs to the Left Wing and that the Left Wing rank and file should take the party and do with it as they will. It will be impossible for the non-revolutionary reformists to remain in a party controlled by the Left Wing. I am in absolute agreement with the Hillquit formula that the time has come for the party to divide into its two antagonistic camps. But I do not see why a defeated minority, with virtually no membership supporting the hold-over officialdom, should be generously tendered the Socialist Party and its tens of thousands of members who have not yet come into alignment on the Right and Left sides. That I would regret, but I would not press this point beyond the time fairly to be allowed for a final campaign within the party to bring definitely into the Left Wing the mass of the membership which belongs there. I am still conscious of certain advantages in developing the Left Wing inner campaign to the point of taking hold of the Socialist Party organization, or pushing the Right Wing to such extremes in holding on to the party machinery that there is a clear case of the Left Wing as the true continuity of the party.

Some highly estimable comrades have given of their unstinted efforts these eighteen years to build up the Socialist Party organization. The essence of that organization is the solid phalanx of membership which is identified with the militant proletarian movement of the United States and the world. It is not the

The Michigan Party of America

habit of my mind to think flippantly of this organized membership. You characterize the present party as an "imitation one." I am inclined, on the contrary, to analyze far more closely the reality of our party situation.

There are "leaders" in the party, and "theoreticians," who are imitation Socialists. There are hundreds and thousands within the mass of the party who are imitation Socialists. Yet today it is not so indifferent a circumstance to belong to the Socialist Party. There was the trying period of the war, and much of the chaff went with the hurricane. Now there is the tension of a world in revolution, and anyone who has spoken this past year to audiences of Socialists knows the hope and pride of revolution which glows in their hearts.

Of course I know that as viewed from the high walls of the Proletarian University of America this mass responsiveness to the impulses of revolution in process means nothing. It is simply "emotional" frothiness. It does not emanate from the Proletarian University class room, how then can be of revolutionary significance?

I have had many occasions to quote Marx and Lassalle to the effect that being a Socialist means, in essence, understanding the scientific rudiments of Socialism. I have also often taken occasion to speak my sincere admiration for the "study class" work which has been carried on from Detroit. It is hardly necessary for me to emphasize my high estimate of economic, social and historical learning as a factor in the building of a Socialist movement.

But I do not confuse the high importance of schooling Socialists with my conceptions of a mass proletarian momentum toward revolution. The learning must take its effect through the mass movement, and therefore there must be a merger of the two: that is, Socialist learning must permeate through the revolutionary masses. But the mass movement has its tremendous meaning and importance quite aside from the matter of Socialist schooling.

And this is where you are now making your very serious mistake. I will not accuse my friends and comrades of Michigan of rank insincerity, but I am absolutely convinced that unless you move quickly to align yourselves with the general Left Wing movement, you will not only destroy your own usefulness to the proletarian advance in America but wilfully foster a state of confusion which may do great harm. Because you have lost sight entirely of the mass movement of the American proletariat as represented within the American Socialist Party. You have become so engrossed with the nicety of phrases that you have overlooked the intense realities of life.

Consider, comrade, you do not hesitate to align yourself with ten thousand or twenty thousand members of the Russian-speaking Federations? Why are these less affected by the "imitation" character of the Socialist Party than the same number of our Scandinavian, Italian and Jewish comrades? Or our German comrades? Or even the Americans?

And why this attitude of holier-than-thou as to principles, when you have cheaply flung away all principle and swallowed entire the program of this Left Wing which you spurn?

You want a plaything all of your own—a Michigan Socialist Party of America. You want to make it and you want to control it. You piled criticism upon criticism against the

work of the National Left Wing Conference and then brazenly turn around and scrap your special Michigan "principles" in favor of your program in its entirety. No wonder you want a nice little party with the Left Wing out as well as the Right Wing, because only as the sole English-speaking group in the new Communist Party would you have the least chance to foist upon it the Michigan idiosyncracies. You cannot be heard to condemn us by a phrase of contempt and at the same time to appropriate our program. A national movement will quickly put you in your place.

How glibly you quote the history of the break-up of the Russian parties, as if this were a case in point. As between the Socialist Revolutionaries and Social-Democrats we have the distinct representation of different social groups, and as between the two divisions of these two parties we have the fundamental cleavage between reformists and revolutionaries everywhere. When you talk of four, or three, Socialist parties in the United States, *historically* developed, it is up to you to show a fundamental social or tactical basis which clearly differentiates the different parties, otherwise you must admit that one or more of those parties exists as an historical record of intrigue—and is otherwise without historical explanation.

You say "we cannot harmonize inharmonious principles and elements." I agree. We do not want to replace an old fake harmony with a new fake harmony. We want a party of like-minded comrades, all of revolutionary consciousness.

We will never follow the Michigan example of throwing all principle aside in order to catch an advantage out of an enthusiasm of certain elements for the empty flourish of immediate establishment of a Communist Party.

After all, comrade, there is no Communist Party until there is some sort of group integrated by fundamental agreement in principle. Between Michigan—and in this I do not admit for one moment that you really represent the rank and file of the Michigan membership—and the Federationists, who accept their mandate from two or three Executive Committees, not from their membership, there is no bond of fundamental principle. Between ourselves and the Federation membership there has been such a bond for three-quarters of a year, and in tendency for a much longer time.

In regard to the Socialist Party and the Left Wing alike you miss the crucial point that there is a membership, needing sharper consciousness and fuller understanding, which is of revolutionary impulse. We are going to hold ourselves as the servants of this membership. You are going to lay down the law to them from the secluded heights, quoting them the appropriate texts. We are going to live and fight with them, today and tomorrow and until we die, trying to shape their instincts of revolt toward the goal of an American Communist Commonwealth.

At the Left Wing Conference and since, I worried much about this factional division within the Left Wing, and I am yet eager to be done with it. But the Left Wing has nothing to concede in principle. The suggestion has been made that we can make more clear the mandate of the Left Wing Conference for a party of Communism on August 30th, either by control of the Emergency Convention or

(Continued on page 13)

Official Left Wing News

At the meeting of Socialist Party Roxbury Lettish Branch No. 2 (350 members), Boston, July 20, 1919, the following resolution was adopted:

Whereas:
1. The "minority" of the Left Wing Conference in using all means in order to prejudice certain Left Wing Organizations (especially Foreign Language Branches) against the participation in the Socialist Party National Emergency Convention, August 30;
2. This discouraging propaganda is not based on any serious difference of opinion in regards to organizing a Communist Party. The "majority" as well as the "minority," both recognize this as a necessity, which can be seen from the reports in *The Revolutionary Age*;

3. The "minority" at present has no right to claim that it intends to organize the Communist Party in a shorter time. Quite the contrary: They have issued a call for a Special Convention on September 1, or two days after the Emergency Convention. By this time the Left Wing of the Emergency Convention will be well ahead in the work of organization of the Communist Party.

4. The attitude of the "minority" has no basis of principle, which is proven by the fact that it did not introduce for consideration of the Conference any separate statement or substitute motion, on any vital question of principle which was discussed at the Conference, namely:

1) Declaration of Principles; 2) National Program; 3) Municipal Program; 4) Attitude towards the Communist International; 5) Attitude towards the Labor Unions; 6) Methods of the Left Wing activities in shops, mills and factories.

5. The claim of the "minority" that the suspended and expelled Left Wing organizations will not be allowed to participate in the Emergency Convention, is not sure, because the members all over the country do not recognize these suspensions and expulsions. If the delegates of the expelled Left Wing organizations are not seated, then it will be

a proper time for all Left Wingers to leave and hold a separate Convention;

6. The National Executive Committee who did the dirty work of the Right Wing, has been overwhelmingly defeated. Since July 1st they do not represent the Party any more. Since July 1st Mr. Germer is not the Socialist Party National Secretary any more. His term has expired. He holds the office by refusing to call together the newly elected N. E. C. But the N. E. C. will come together anyway. They will fire Germer, and elect a new secretary. They will recall all expulsions and suspensions. The new secretary, a Left Winger, will call the Emergency Convention to order;

7. If by some treacherous "legal proceedings" started by Mr. Germer and Right Wing, the new N. E. C. is not allowed to function, even in that case the situation will be favorable to the Left Wing. It will open the eyes of thousands of comrades who as yet do not know which Wing to support.

Therefore be it resolved:

1. That we the Socialist Party Roxbury Lettish Branch No. 2, Boston, Mass., endorse the action of the "majority" of the Left Wing Conference and call upon the "minority" delegates and their sympathizers to work in accordance with the Left Wing Program.

2. That we shall participate in the election of delegates to the National Emergency Convention and also call upon other Left Wing Branches to do the same;

3. That we condemn the action of certain "minority" delegates, who are traveling from city to city inviting the members not to support and refuse to pay dues to the Left Wing organizations who intend to participate in the National Emergency Convention.

The following letter has been sent to many locals and branches throughout the country, but there are hundreds of branches not within our reach at this time. You are requested, therefore, to bring this

letter to the attention of your branch and to transmit the answer to the questions as soon as possible.
Dear Comrade:

This letter should be considered as promptly as possible by your local and the answer transmitted at once. It is of the highest importance that the National Left Wing Council should be accurately informed of the party situation in every part of the country, and if there is relevant information not asked for below, please add it to your answer.

1. Are there Left Wing candidates on your ballot for delegates to the National Emergency Convention of August 30th? Please supply their names and addresses, if convenient.

2. Has your local or State organization instructed the delegates to the Emergency Convention? If so, to what effect?

3. Does your local approve entire co-operation of the delegates from your state with the National Left Wing Organization?

4. Does your local approve the organization of a Communist Party if the Left Wing is barred from control of the Socialist Party Emergency Convention? Or if the Emergency Convention is put off by the old N. E. C.?

5. Does your local take the stand that the new National Executive Committee, elected on the referendum which is being held up, is now the proper executive body to control the Socialist Party, subject to the actions of the membership?

6. Has your State, city, or county, any form of distinct Left Wing organization?

7. Is your local willing to help finance the sending of Left Wing delegates to Chicago on August 30th, providing such delegates cannot be sent by means of the regular party elections?

8. Has your local heretofore done anything to put the local on record with regard to the general party situation?

What was average membership of your local for 1918? What was average membership for first half of year 1919?

I. E. FERGUSON, Nat. Sec'y.

Greater New York News

ORGANIZERS of all branches contesting the primaries should file their petition lists in this office not later than July 28th.

First Bi-Weekly Letter To Enrolled Socialists—is now ready for distribution to branches. Price per hundred letters 60 cents.

Lists of enrolled voters can be purchased at this office.

Branches desiring more petition lists for enrolled Socialist Voters can procure them in this office.

Branch secretaries or organizers should procure new Left Wing application cards and duplicates from this office as no one will be permitted in to the membership meeting on August 3d unless he shows his Left Wing application card and his Socialist Party card.

All Left Wing New York Branches should elect their delegates on the basis of one for every twenty-five members to the new Left Wing N. Y. Central Committee.

Branch secretaries should send in the place and date of their meetings so they can be published in this column regularly. Also reports of activities of the branch.

Emergency Due Stamps and Emergency Party Cards are now ready and can be procured at this office.

Special Propaganda Stamps are also ready and the Left Wing comrades should do their best to push the sale of these stamps among the comrades and friends and sympathizers. Every comrade should carry a book of these stamps with him to the shop and union meetings and sell them to their comrades. At the same time it gives him an opportunity of explaining the Left Wing organization to those workers who as yet are in the dark about our movement.

Push the sale of the Propaganda Stamps—It provides us with funds and offers you the chance of presenting the Left Wing case to the workers.

All comrades should get busy in their branches as the branch activities must not be neglected at this important time. Every Left Wing branch must be made stronger than ever it was in the past. We are building for the future—the Communist Party of America—and the Social Revolution. To think

that you can stay home and let the branch take care of itself means only one thing—stagnation—and that must not creep into our movement. We have youth, enthusiasm and proletarian ideals on our side—this combination is invincible. Make your slogan—All power to the Left Wing—and act upon it by becoming active in your branch.

The 18-20th A. D. will hold an Entertainment and Dance on Saturday, August 9th at Socialist Hall, 1848 Lexington Ave. The proceeds will go to rebuild the branch headquarters, raided by the Right Wing.

IMPORTANT NOTICE

Due to the tremendous success obtained at the "Left Wing Excursion" to Great Bear Mountains, last Saturday afternoon, July 12, the 1st and 2nd Assembly District Branches of the Left Wing Section of the Socialist Party, decided to run a second excursion for the convenience of all those who held tickets for the first excursion and were not able to get on the boat, as well as for the benefit of their friends.

This second and last excursion will be held on Saturday afternoon, August 16, 1919. The boat will leave the Pike Street Dock at 2:30 P. M. sharp. Dancing, singing, rowing, swinging and other entertainments are on the program for this day. Tickets may be obtained at the following places: 180 Henry Street, 255 Grand Street, *Norby Mir*, 113 E. 110th St. and at *The Revolutionary Age*, 43 West 29th Street.

Next Central Committee of Bronx will meet at Saturday, July 26th at 5th A. D. Headquarters, 1340 Southern Boulevard. Branches should send their delegates with credentials.

MEMBERSHIP MEETING

Sunday, 1 P. M. August 3, 1919.

MANHATTAN LYCEUM

66 East 4th Street, New York

Ratification of the National Left Wing Conference and election of officers.

Admission by Left Wing Application Card and Socialist Party Card.

Application Cards can be secured at headquarters or from Branch secretaries.

Next meeting of the Left Wing Picnic Committee of Bronx will take place next Monday evening, July 28, at 371 Willis Avenue. Branches are requested to instruct their delegates to attend this meeting.

* * *

A Left Wing PICNIC has been arranged by the Bronx comrades of the Left Wing for Sunday, Aug. 24th, at Eastern Boulevard Park, formerly Hoffman's Park, Eastern Boulevard and Fort Schuler Road, Westchester, N. Y.

The following artists will participate: Miss Katayama in oriental dances, Vladimir Resnikoff, the Russian singer and many other artistic attractions. Amusements, dancing, bowling, athletics and international bazaar. The entire proceeds will go to the Left Wing Section, Local Greater New York.

Left Wing organizations and those in sympathy with the Left Wing are requested not to arrange any affairs on that date which might conflict with this picnic.

Tickets can be obtained at all the Left Wing branches of the Socialist Party, *The Norby Mir*, 113 East 10th Street, *The Kampf*, 179 East Broadway, Hungarian Workers House, 350 East 81st St., Left Wing Headquarters, 48 W. 39th Street, The Elora, 5 East 3d St., *The Robinik*, 222 East 5th St., *Una Ulm*, 225 East 79th Street.

Tickets in advance 30 cents, at the gate 35 cents. Picnic starts at 10 A. M.

PICNIC AND DANCE DICKERT OLD POINT PARK

4018 Boston Road, Bronx
SUNDAY, JULY 27th, 1919

arranged by

LETTISH BRANCH No. 2

2018 Amsterdam Ave.

Directions:—The Park can be reached by New York, Westchester and Boston Railway taking local train to Dyre Ave., Fare 5 cents. 133 station can be reached by 2d and 3d Ave. Elevated, Hunts Point station by Lexington Ave. Subway and 163 Crosstown and Bronx Park (180 St.) station, by 7th Ave. Subway Bronx Park trains.

Dear Comrades:—

Brooklyn, N. Y.,

Enclosed you will find One dollar for the work you have undertaken. Very sorry that I cannot give more at present, but am trying hard to have other comrades send their donations for the great educational work that you are spreading. Wishing you a two-fold success, I remain,

Fraternally yours,

D. N. Ditchek.

Comrade:—

Wallum Lake, R. I.

I am enclosing Five dollars which I've collected among a few sympathizers. I'm also enclosing fifty cents in stamps for my subscription. Wishing you with all my heart success, I am a sympathizer,

Joseph Giffoni.

(Above was acknowledged as coming from party comrades, whereupon the following reply was sent:)

Comrade:—

July 19, 1919

I am sorry to state that none of the five contributors are members of the Party. We are just sympathizers with the Left Wing because it stands heartily with us workers, and we thought it was our duty to give some money for our cause.

Fraternal regards from all of us,

Joseph Giffoni.

Dear Comrade:—

Pittsburgh, Pa.,

Enclosed find money order for One Hundred dollars (\$100.00) and Five (\$5.00) cash. This is the immediate answer to your call for Left Wing finances. More coming.

Lots of Left Wing sentiment here.

Donation as follows: South Slavic Branch No. 1, \$75.00; North Side Central, \$10.00; N. S. Circle Y. P. S. L., \$10.00; Ed. Horacek, \$5.00; Comrade Kalibash, \$5.00

Yours for the cause

R. Blum, Sec'y Left Wing Group,

Comrade Ferguson:—

Belleville, Ill.,

Herewith I am sending you \$10.00 for organizing and propaganda for the Left Wing. This is a donation from the German branch, Belleville. We hope that all branches do the same.

Yours for the Third International,

Wm. Lugge, Sec'y.

Dear Comrades:—

New Bremen, Ohio,

Enclosed find Ten dollars which our Local contributors to the cause of Red Socialism, also Five dollars for the purchase of Propaganda stamps. Local New Bremen will stick to the Left Wing to the finish.

Yours for the revolution,

Arthur H. Miller, Fin. Sec'y.

Dear Comrade Secretary:—

Dorchester, Mass.,

Enclosed find please a check for \$5.00 donated by our branch in behalf of the Left Wing.

Kindly send us 25 copies of *The Revolutionary Age* every week.

Yours in Communist comradeship,

L. Golosov, Fin. Sec'y.

Comrades of the Left Wing--history calls to YOU!

The National Left Wing needs \$15,000

for its immediate work. We must prepare to bring together at Chicago August 30, a truly representative Left Wing delegation from every State in the Union.

I. E. Ferguson,

Secretary, National Council

43 West 29th Street, New York City.